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REPORT

OF

THE STATE SEMINAR

ON

TRIBAL WELFARE

TRIBAL CULTURAL RESEARCH & TRAINING INSTITUTE
HYDERABAD

DECEMBER, 1963

State Seminar on Tribal Welfare

held in the campus of

THE TRIBAL CULTURAL RESEARCH & TRAINING INSTITUTE, BANJARA HILLS, HYDERABAD

from

29th to 31st December, 1963

ISSUED BY
THE DIRECTOR OF TRIBAL CULTURAL RESEARCH & TRAINING INSTITUTE, GOVERNMENT OF ANDHRA PRADESH, HYDERABAD.

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The Papers by Dr. Sachchidananda and Dr. N. S. Reddy, are being published in the next issue of the Bulletin 'TRIBAL' of the Institute.

preface.

The Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute was established in April, 1963, with objectives to provide scientific orientation of tribal life and culture to the officials and non-officials engaged in the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes, and of promoting a programme of research so as to meet the requirements of development and welfare schemes in action. The Institute, besides holding orientation course, designed to stimulate thinking through interchange of ideas and experience, the seminar was held with the main objective to orient the official trainees, administrators and vouluntary social workers. This seminar representing the first organised effort in the State was designed to probe into the needs of the tribals and the Tribal Welfare programme and to assess how far the latter met the former ; for this we brought together the Anthropologists, Administrators and Social Workers, to this combined meet. The Seminar was organised under the auspices of the Government of Andhra Pradesh and was sponsored by the Tribal Cultural Research & Training Institute at Hyderabad from 29th to 31st December, 1963.

The seminar was unique and interesting in the sense that it brought together the academicians, social scientists, Anthropologists, Administrators and social workers in a combined meet who have diverse and varied views of their own on the approach to the concept of tribal welfare. Another feature of the seminar was that no groups were formed as is customary in any seminar. The seminar was divided into four sessions. Each session

was presided over by matured and experienced scholars, and administrators All the four sessions of the seminar were thus open to all the participants, officials, non officials, and observers. This method of discussion was very much appreciated by one and all wherein a free and frank discussion took place and the tempo of high level deliberations was always kept up. The seminar discussed the tribal welfare and allied programmes in the context of the present day situations obtaining in the tribal areas. The Ag nda was drafted as such to give a topi al lead to the discussions and to get out of variegated views, policy issues emerge. The recommendations of the Seminar thus beam the practical solutions to the various problems of the Scheduled areas and the Scheduled Tribes.

The seminar was inaugurated by Shri M. R. Appa Rao, M.A., Minister for Social Welfare, Excise and Prohibition, Government of Andhra Pradesh, who has a wealth of knowledge of tribal people and having the virtues of tolerance and sympathy towards the weaker sections. It was equally fortunate that the seminar had the privilege of having addressed by State's top most officers, viz., Shri M. Purushotham Pai, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to Government of Andhra Pradesh, Shri K. N. Anantharaman, I.C.S., First Member, Board of Revenue and Shri L.N. Gupta, I.A.S., Special Secretary to Government, Education Department, Andhra Pradesh. The deliberations were highly illuminating due to the presence of eminent Anthropologists, Social Scientists, viz., Professor C. Von Furer Haimendorf, from School of Oriental and African Studies, London, Prof. N. K. Bose, Director of Anthropological Survey of India, Dr. N. Subbareddy, Reader, Departmeent of Anthropology, Andhra University, Waltair, Dr. Sachchidananda, Director, Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi and Sri L.N. Rao, Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India, Hyderabad. The Seminar was equally fortunate to have the matured social workers like Dr. Seethapathy (Parlakimidi), Sri V. Raghavayya, President, Andhra Rastra Adimajati Sevak Sangh, Nellore. The Tribal Representatives, Shri K. Bheemarao, M.L.A., and Smt. Vani Ramanarao, Ex M.L.A., actively contributed to the seminar.

It was equally fortunate that deliberations of the seminar were highlighted by the active participation of Administrators of the State like, Shri G.V.S. Mani, I.A.S., Director of Fisheries, Shri Narsingh, Raj, I.A.S., Collector of Adilabad, Shri P.S. Rao, Chief Conservator of Forests, Dr. C. B. Rao, Jt. Director of Public Instruction and various other representatives of development departments, Block Development Officers, District Social Welfare Officers, richly contributed to the deliberations of the seminar.

I thank the delegates, observers and the participants both officials and non-officials and the representatives from non official organisations, University Authorities and Training Institutions, for having effectively participated in the seminar to make it a success. My thanks to Dr. Roy Burman, Anthropologist (Census Department), Government of India, for having deputed Sri Kruff, Research Officer, to take part in the deliberations. I thank the

French Anthropologist Mr. Oliver Herrenschmidt, who sat as an observer for all the three days of the seminar. I am thankful to the press and the officers of the All India Radio for having given a coverage to the seminar proceedings.

The ultimate utility of any seminar lies in its contribution to the thinking on the subject. If the deliberations of this seminar set the administrators and anthropologists thinking anew on the infinite range of problems pertaining to Tribal Welfare, we, the organisers of this seminar would consider that the seminar had achieved an useful purpose.

P. KAMLAMANOHAR RAO,
Director, Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad.

Sri L. N. Gupta, I.A.S., *Special Secretary to Government, Education Department, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.*

Sri B. R. K. Sastry, I.A.S., *Director of Social Welfare, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad & Ex. Officio Deputy Scretary Education Dept.*

Sri G. V. S. Mani, I.A.S., *Director of Fisheries, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.*

Sri P. S. Rao, *Chief Conservator of Forests, Andhra Pradesh.*

Sri L. N. Rao, *Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of Andhra Pradesh and Mysore.*

Sri Khaja Hameed Ahmad, *Assistant Secretary to Government, Panchayati Raj Department, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.*

Prof. C. Von-Furer Haimendorf, *School of Oriental & African Studies., University of London, London W.C.*

Prof N. K. Bose, *Director of Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta.*

Dr. Sachchidananda, *Director of Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi, Bihar State.*

Dr. N. Subbareddy, *Reader, Department of Anthropology, Andhra University.*

Miss. Kanga M. A. Head, of the Department of Sociology, Osmania University.

Dr. G. V. Seethapathy ,*Linguist and Research Scholar, Hyderabad.*

Sri V. Raghavayya, *Member, Tribes Advisory Council.*

Dr.M. Mahalingam, *Deputy Director, Animal Husbandry Department, Andhra Pradesh,Hyderabad.*

Sri Basheeruddin Ahmed, *Deputy Director (Admn.), Social Welfare Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.*

Sri K. Venkatachalapathi Rao, *Deputy Director of Social Welfare (Planning), Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.*

Sri Syed Naimathullah, *Deputy Director, Tribal Welfare, Bhadrachalam.*

Sri Mahmood Ali Khan, *Deputy Director, Tribal Welfare, Visakhapatnam.*

Sri N. V. Shivaramakrishna, *Integrated Division Programmes, Hyderabad.*

Miss Atya Sultana, *Assistant Director of Womens' Welfare Department, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.*

Sri K. V. Reddy, *Special Grade Block Development Officer, Utnoor, Adilabad.*

Sri G. V. Ramaswamy, *Special Grade Block Development Officer, Paderu, Visakhapatnam district.*

Sri G. Rayapa Raju, *Special Grade Block Development Officer, Chinthapalli, Visakhapatnam district.*

Sri B. V. Swamy, *Special Grade Block Development Officer, Addateegala East Godavari district.*

Sri B. R. Reddy, *Special Grade Block Development Officer, Mahaboobnagar district.*

Sri Vidyasagar, *Special Grad Block Development Officer, Narsampet, Warangal district.*

Sri P. G. N. Raju, *Special Grade Block Development Officer, Bhadragiri.*

Sri M. Satyanarayana, *Block Development Officer, Bhadrachalam.*

Sri Oliver Herrnschmidt, *Research Scholar, Paris.*

Sri Anantharao Bodhankar, *Chief Research Officer Tribal Research unit Social Welfare Dept. Poona.*

Sri A. M. Kruff, *Research Officer, Ministry of Home Affairs Government of India, New Delhi.*

Sri A. R. K. Murthy, *Research Scholar, Osmania University, Hyderabad.*

Sri V. Ramakrishna, *Research Assistant, Census Office, Hyderabad.*

Smt. Vani Ramanarao, *Ex.-M.LA.*

Sri Bhimarao, *Tribal M.L.A.*

Smt. Laxmidevi Raj, *Executive Secretary, Indian Conference of Social Work, State Branch, Hyderabad.*

Miss Sharada Devi, *Head Mistress, Government School, Hyderabad.*

Sri B. N. Kulkarni, *Cultural, Officer, Social Welfare Department Poona (Trainee of Tata Institute).*

Sri P. N. Varma, *Area Organiser, Tribal Welfare, Madhya Pradesh (Trainee of Tata Institute).*

Sri K. S. S. Raju, *Economic Investigator, Census Dept., Hyderabad.*

Sri Jha, *Instructor, Orientation Study Centre Rajendranagar, Hyderabad.*

Sri G. Hanumantha Rao, *Distric Social Welfare Officer, Hyderabad.*

Sri C. S. Sarma, *District Social Welfare Officer, Mahaboobnagar.*

Sri C. S. Venkatesham, *District Social Welfare Officer, Adilabad.*

Sri Mujtaba Khan, *District Social Welfare Officer, Khammam.*

Sri C. V. Krishna Rao, *Additional District Social Welfare Officer, Asifabad.*

Sri E. Ramamohan, *District Social Welfare Officer, Nizamabad.*

Sri S. S. Bhatnagar, *District Social Welfare Officer, Kareemnagar.*

Sri P. R. Sounder Rajan, *Reclamation Officer, Chittoor.*

Sri A. Krishnaiah, *Reclamation Officer, Kurnool, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.*

Sri M. Narasimharao, *Reclamation Officer, Nellore.*

Official Trainees

Sri S. Ramamohan Rao,

Sri A. K. Dass.

Sri C. Venugopala Krishna.

Sri V. Suryanarayana,

Kumari C. Rukmani,

Kum. S. Vasantha Devi,

Kumari Voormila Devi,

Sri V. Chitten Raju.

Sri K. C. Augustene

Sri Achuta Rama Rao.

Sri M. Rama Krishna Rao.

Sri I. Aseervadam.

Sri N. Narayan Reddi.

Sri D. Narsiah.

Sri K. Papaiah,

Sri G. Balam Bhotlu.

Sri Ibrahim Shareef,

Welcome Address.

Sri B. R. K. SASTRY, I.A.S.,
Director of Social Welfare &
Ex. officio Deputy Secretary
Education Dept. A.P.

As the first servant of the Tribal Welfare Department it is my privilege today to extend hearty welcome to all of you, who have assembled here for the Seminar. I see before me the Member of the Government incharge of the Tribal Welfare Senior Administrator, like Sri Anantharaman, I.C.S., whose name is still fondly remembered in the Tribal areas of Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam Districts, eminent Anthropologists and Officers of the Government of Andhra Pradesh connected with the Tribal Welfare. We are particularly happy that Sri Haimendorf, whose name is a by-word for Tribal Welfare, is amidst us.

We have conceived of this Seminar as predominently administration oriented. We shall seek practical hints in the implementation of Tribal Welfare programmes from your discussions and conclusions. The concept of Tribal Welfare is undergoing a sea-change during recent times. Hitherto tribals living in their mountain-fastnesses are isolated from the main stream of Indian life. They have their own social taboos and customs, primitive outlook and a barter-based economy. Within the last two to three years this position has undergone a voluntary change. Our Chief Minister, the other day at Guntur, asked in his characteristically blunt way as to what is happening to all the lakhs and crores of Rupees that are being spent on various welfare measures ever since the attainment of independence and what is the impact of this expenditure on the people

both in raising the levels of production and standards of living. Under Tribal Welfare in the State of Andhra Pradesh during the first two Five-Year Plans, and for the first two years of the Third Plan we have spent an amount of Rs. 563 lakhs. As the Tribal population in Andhra Pradesh is 13,24,368 representing the 3% of the total population of the State, this would work out to be a substantial amount. We have to see the overall effect of this expenditure on the tribal populaton. It is not enough to say that we have put up a Primary Health Centre here and gave a few plough bullocks to the Tribals there. The amount of money spent by this Department is in addition to the amounts spent by the Multipurpose Tribal Development Blocks at Rs. 27 lakhs for 5 years and also expenditure incurred by the normal Departments. We look to the Seminar for a scrutiny of the work turned out and the adequacy of the return for this outlay.

While taking stock of the efforts and measures undertaken we have also to see whether the pattern of development so far undertaken is the correct one. It is for this agonising reappraisal of our concepts, attitudes, and actions towards Tribal Welfare that the Seminar is required to address itself. We have maintained hitherto that the tribals with their depressed economics and arrested growth of culture should be protected from the outside exploitation, their traditional modes of living should be preserved. All our tribal welfare measures are designed to secure this. But nobody can say that this process was quite successful. Since we are more interested in specifics, rather than generalisations, I would submit for the consideration of the Seminar, a case study of the Ashoknagar Colony, which, in my view, typifies the conceptual enthusiasm with which the schemes are undertaken and the woeful results it has achieved in practice. In 1951, 100 familes were settled and 400 acres were given to them. Today only 80 to 90 acres are still with the original tribal assignees and the rest was sold out to the non-tribals and the tribals moved back to their native-places from where they were shifted to this Colony. Since we cannot dispossess the petty agriculturists, who purchased an acre or two from the tribals under a sale deed and who have put in their sweat and toil, we have no way of restoring the lands to tribals though technically the transactions are invalid. I would also invite your attention to the phenomenon that is happening in Arku Valley in Visakhapatnam District. A huge Railway Project, D.B.K. Railway, is under construction in that area, and with immense sums being pumped into that region and thousands of people from all over India pour into that area, the old sleepy atmosphere has completely disappeared and it is bristling with activities, just like any plains area. This would bring me to the conclusion that it is the money-economy that is fast changing the outlook and the way of living of the tribals. If this is so, our pattern of development for the tribals should also fall in line and we may take it as axiomatic forces, they remain a dead letter. With the free flow of tribal and non-tribal population into the plains and plain areas, the old concept of keeping away the plainsmen from the tribal areas will have to be reconsidered. We consider that seggregation in whatever form is bad for both the categories. We are also anxious that there should be a complete integration in the country. If this is so, there is no justifiable reason to prevent plainsmen from acquiring

properties in tribal regions. This will be beneficial to both the tribals and the plainsmen and ultimately would help the country both by way of intermingling of people and raising the production level. The tribals would be able to learn by practical experience, the improved practices and techniques of production from the plainsmen. This suggestion may sound harsh and may appear as if we are throwing the innocent tribals to the wolves. But I submit that being blind to the fast changing conditions has not done any good to anybody. By denying validity to the inexorable economic laws we would only drive people to under-hand dealings, like the benami transfers of immovable properties to the non-tribals.

All this requires a rapid mental re-adjustment and we should conceive of India as one unit with the same type of education and amelioration all over. Any discrimination in this regard and any effort to keep some sections of people in swadling clothes permanently or in a protective custody will not solve any problems.

If the test of efficiency of a culture is its capacity to survive in its contact with other civilisation, why should we make a conscious effort to preserve it, as if it were a museum piece ? I submit that this question, though deliberately made provocative, deserves serious consideration.

We should also take into account the part that is being played by the Panchayat Samithis in the Tribal areas in accelerating the progress. A team of leadership is evolving in this backward region, and an explosion of expectations has occured in these placid places. We should try to see how best we can utilise this machinery in the implementation of the Tribal Welfare schemes of this Department. The Prime Minister has said, " We cannot allow matters to drift in the tribal areas or just not take interest in them. In the world of today that is not possible or desirable. At the same time, we should avoid over-administering these areas, and, in particular, sending too many outsiders into Tribal territory ".

" It is between these two extreme positions that we have to function. Development in various ways there has to be, such as communications, medical facilities, education and better agriculture ".

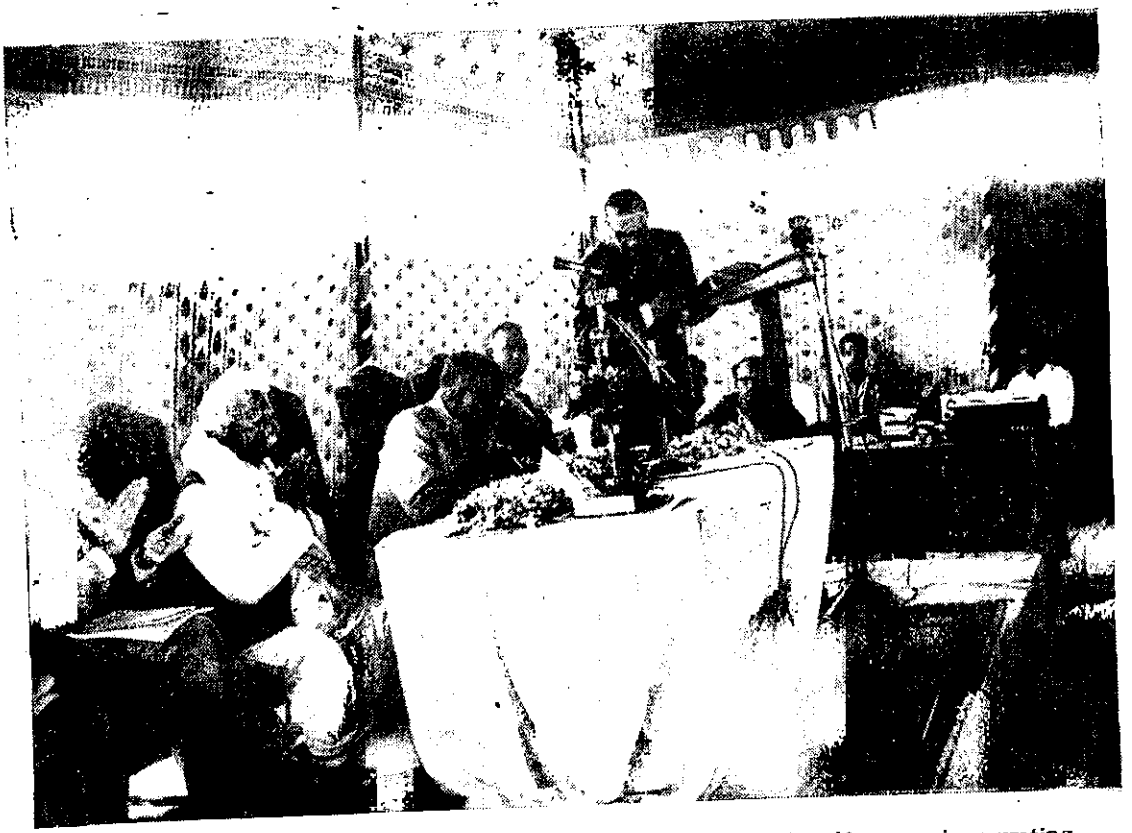
Gentlemen, there is considerable amount of tired thinking on the subject of tribal welfare, sentiment is not enough, commonsense also should prevail.

Opening Address.

SRI M. R. APPA RAO M.A.,
Minister for Excise, Prohibition
and Social Welfare,
Andhra Pradesh,

It gives me great pleasure to be here today and meet all of you distinguished anthropologists, Academicians, Administrators, non-official workers and scholars in a seminar. I need hardly say that a seminar of this kind is necessary, in the context of the growing importance attached to the problem of tribal welfare in the country, and particularly in our State. This State has a tribal population of 13.24 lakhs, which forms 3.68% of the total population of the State. The Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, which was started less than a year ago, has within the very short period of its existence, completed two short term courses, and is contemplating a long term course of 4 months of training, for officers of various Departments of the State Government working in the Tribal areas. This seminar, coming as it does, at the end of the training course will enable the trainees to enrich their knowledge of the Tribal problems at the same time giving them an opportunity to express their own opinions, in a conference, where State Heads of Departments and others, responsible for shaping the policies are present. In addition to this (as the Director of Social Welfare has just mentioned) it is well timed to synchronize with the preparation of the State Plans for the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

Tribal Welfare, as you know, received the attention of the Country as early as 1949 when a special Committee was formed under the Chairmanship of Sri L.N. Shrikant. This Committee submitted its report in



Sri M.R. Appa Rao, M.A., Minister for Excise, Prohibition and Social Welfare, seen inaugurating the Tribal Welfare Seminar (*Left to Right*) Sri L.N. Gupta, I.A.S., Special Secretary to Government, Eucation Department, Dr. G. Seethapathy, Sri K.N. Anantaraman, I.C.Sr., First Member, Board of Revenue, Government of Andhra Pradesh, and Chairman, Advisory Board, T.C.R- andT.I., Hyderabad, Sri B.R.K. Sastry, I.A.S., Director of Social Welfae & Ex Officio Deputy Secretary, Education Department A. P. *Photo by Minha*

1951; the report contains recommendations, classification of Tribes, Tribal economy, social structure and education, health and hygiene in Tribal areas and the administration of Tribal welfare programmes.

There are special clauses in the Constitution which apply only to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The preamble of the Constitution of India guarantees to all citizens of India social, economic and political justice, liberty of thought, expression, belief faith and worship; and equality of status and opportunity, and seeks to promote fraternity among Indians in order to ensure the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation.

Against the background of the Constitutional provisions, protecting the interests of the tribals and an assessment of their problems, culturally and economically several ameliorative measures have been and are being taken for the overall development of the tribal communities. To mention a few, we have in this State, the Andhra Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation, which purchases from the tribals minor forest produce and their agricultural produce, at prices most favourable to them, and sells to them at their door, such domestic necessities as kerosene, salt, cloth, etc., at cheaper rates. This is intended to protect the Tribals against exploitation by Sowcars and secure for them a just and economic price for their produce. As is always the case, the Corporation has its own difficulties, chief of which being the constant attempt by the erstwhile traders, to sabotage its working. We have in the Andhra Area, Act I of 1917, an Act to prevent alienation of lands to nontribals, an Act to prevent bonded labour and the Agriculturists' Act, to scale down debts. In the tribal areas we have Community Development Blocks, Co-operative Societies, elementary and Secondary Schools, boarding homes, agricultural research stations, soil conservation programmes—to provide work for the tribals and to improve their lands, industries like sericulture, plantations like coffee to mention only a few. All these Acts are in pursuance of the mandates in the Constitution and policies are adopted in accordance with those provisions. Whatever has been done in the past is quite satisfactory, but there is no room for complacency, there is a lot more to be done.

We have recently extended the system of statutory panchayats to the tribal areas, and have Panchayat Samithis working. One gratifying feature in the administration of tribal areas is the eradication of malaria in these otherwise inhospitable areas. This provides opportunity for carrying on the developmental work, with speed and efficiency.

I do not wish to deal with specific problems, because, I am sure, they will be discussed threadbare and with the frankness during the course of your discussions. I, however, feel that there is something invaluable in tribal cultures, which may prove to be very useful even to modern civilization. For example, the tribal traits of moral and social discipline, capacity for hard work and dignity of labour, a sense of joy and rhythm in life,

community dance and music, stress on self-sufficiency in the essential needs of daily life deserve to be very carefully studied by us. We should surely try to improve the social and economic conditions of the tribal people by giving them the necessary facilities which are available to the other sections of the people, but any attempt to brutally impose our image on the tribal development, will, I think, be fought with disastrous consequences.

Gentlemen, I have given expression to some of my thoughts on this subject. I am thankful to the Director for requesting me to inaugurate this Seminar. I am sure, this Seminar serves as a means of education and as a guide to our policy of Tribal Welfare.

The Presidents for each group to be selected are very eminent Anthropologists who are familiar with the tribal world. I am sure, the discussions will bring out some concrete and practical recommendations which will really be helpful to our Government to implement expeditiously. I am very glad to make special mention of Professor C. Von Furer Haimendorf of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and who was, formerly, adviser to the "Tribes and Backward Classes Department" of the Former Government of Hyderabad. He has done outstanding research among the tribals of Andhra Pradesh. His books on "Raj Gonds of Adilabad", "Reddis of Bison Hills" and a few others are outstanding. His services to the tribals of our State are unforgettable. I am extremely happy that he is in our amidst today. Prof. N.K. Bose, one of the outstanding personalities of our Country and who had the privilege of associating himself with the Father of Our Nation, is also here. I am equally happy to see Dr. Sachchidananda, Dr. N.S. Reddy, Dr. Seethapathy, and other Professors from various Institutions participating in the Seminar.

I shall follow with interest the discussions that take place here, and I take this opportunity of giving all of you this assurance, that the recommendations made in the Seminar will be given to the most anxious and earnest consideration by the Government. I now inaugurate the Seminar.

Presidential Address.

Sri K. N. ANANTARAMAN, I.C.S.
First Member, Board of
Revenue, Govt. of Andhra
Pradesh, Hyderabad.

At the outset, I thank you for the opportunity given to me to associate myself with this function. Usually the President is not expected to talk much. My business has been made all the more difficult also because two people who have practically devoted their life to this subject have spoken on many different aspects of this subject. Besides this, the Director of Social Welfare who is in sole charge of this work and the Hon. Minister have also touched upon very important administrative problems. Now, with the permission of the Hon. Minister, I think that I should make just a few observations, but all the same in a Seminar like this held for the Tribal Welfare where administration is also going to play a great part, I thought, I should say a few words. In the Civil side one of the speakers very rightly pointed out the importance of the study of anthropology in administration. This I may mention was recognised not now but decades back. Every one of us who competed for the Civil Services either took one paper in anthropology or two papers, a paper on general anthropology and a paper on social anthropology and some of us were extremely happy also because the Professors in anthropology were usually very generous in marks. I can also say the other way—if however they felt that a man has not understood the general principles I have known them giving single digit marks and I have also known them giving a hundred per cent. Now that is one aspect of it. After entering the service we were specially encouraged by our seniors to read books on castes and creedes on social customs and we were also asked to read the District Gazetteers which contained a wealth of information. Therefore I would emphasise

once again for everybody who is connected with tribal welfare work the importance of studying the subject applied anthropology, physical anthropology, general anthropology, social customs and the religion. Never a very profound observation—an observation which has got to be borne in mind always and practised by all the servants—Government servants administrators who go there is this—that none of these good qualities in this world are a monopoly of any particular caste or creed or race or tribe or clan, it is only a matter of opportunities and Dr. Seethapathy has been repeating this and most of us have realised this to a certain extent. But as we all lay great importance on the profound sayings of the Vedas, he has quoted from the Veda itself. It shows the importance of the subject. Well, I may say one thing—one very important thing that we have got to bear in mind is that though we have very many good qualities—but the tribal does not care—if you think that you are abler than him, much more intelligent than him that you have got a far higher standard of morality—he will not listen to you. As a matter of fact they are a proud people and justly so and correctly so. You must remember that they have been driven to the hills not because of our innate superiority—but because of superiority in weapons, superiority in military organisations, superiority in numbers but if we are placed on the same situation, the question will arise will we be able to survive? I have got fairly good experience going from one end of the agency to the other—if you are placed in any place say about 18 miles, right into the jungle—very difficult indeed to get into one of those villages. I had served about 30 years back—I served for 3 years in one area, then another 2 years in another area, again for 3 years in yet another area—about 9 years in areas inhabited by these people and after going to the Board I have also had the opportunity of visiting various other places.

There are two important approaches to tribal welfare. The Director spoke on one aspect—Should we always keep them as museum-pieces? Should we always consider that they are backward? Should we always give them special opportunities to spoil themselves—merely give them food and all that and without any inducements of development? Well, the Hon. Minister talked on the other aspect. The need for a little protection and it is absolutely necessary. A man may be a very good athelete but all good atheletes are not swimmers, and if a man is simply thrown into the water—and it is of course, one way of teaching children swimming, they are simply thrown into the water, of course somebody will be there for preventing him from drowning—but an adult has got to be taught swimming in a particular way, I mean, he has got to be taught a little of theory a little practice and a swimmer has got to do it and in the same way a tribal cannot manage in Visakhapatnam town or in Hyderabad—we also cannot manage, just as I said, we cannot find our way—we cannot live without the help of the tribal in the jungles. As far as reservation of land is concerned, the Director of Social Welfare was questioning the advisability of reserving all the land for the tribals there—for preventing people from going there. Well, I having served there decades—I must say—that the type of people who came to the agency area, *i.e.*, plainsmen are not always missionaries, are not always people

who want to teach these people better methods of cultivation, better methods of growing fruits, better methods of irrigation and then clear out. They, I am sorry to say, want to grab the best land and repeat what we have done, drive the people further away to the barren lands. If this is the type of people who go there surely some sort of protection is needed and when a person is particularly handicapped, atleast for a particular period till he comes up to that particular level, it is not fair to allow him to compete with better equipped persons. Talking of bravery and courage—I mean in those days we had a little more time to spare and I spent quite a lot of time in Shikar and used to go about with those fellows and learnt a lot from them. A man just pointed out a particular place to me, that is where the wild boars usually come early in the morning at 5 o'clock and when he told me, I was not particularly comfortable as it was here—he said —two years back he was charged by a wild boar. Suddenly he showed his thigh which has been ripped, of course then it was cured. And then he told me, that he was suddenly taken by surprise, where he was only expecting a panther which was nothing for him, this wretched boar threw him down and began sawing all his thigh and he added, that he took my bilhook and split it from its heart down and only then the wretched animal would left him. He was in bed for two or three months, but now he was alright and he brought me back to the same place. Any Administrator who goes there and feels to be far superior to them will be a misfit, that is one thing which we have got to learn and another point is this. They may be poor people, but they are a proud people and rightly proud also. As a matter of fact, 30 years back I remember, people who came from Bhadrachalam bear me out the lady who brings grass for your horse, she must always be addressed as the "Rt. Hon. Lady (Dorasani)" and if you don't address her so, she will say I neither want to sell you the grass nor do I want the four annas which you will give me, she will go away and quite correctly; after all circumstances have reduced her to sell the grass, she has been accustomed to a particular kind of addressing and why should she be deprived of it. Then there was another important aspect which Dr. Seethapathy touched upon and about which our Hon. Minister also spoke and about which I am also concerned in a way. I am the Chairman of Corporation which is sponsored by the Government. The Government are giving very liberal donation of about 6 to 7 lakhs of rupees. Our job is to procure the minor forest produce like tamarind, honey, etc., give them fair price for it, and also sell them their daily requirements like salt, sugar jaggery, food grains. We buy all these things from the tribals at the highest price that is possible about 20 to 25 per cent more than others would. A more important thing is it has got a co-operative frame work; there are 3,000 members all of whom are tribals and the administration is more or less managed by the Directors; there is an enthusiastic I.A.S. Officer in charge there are 10 co-operative societies who deal with these things and in every place where we have transactions we have committees consisting mostly of tribals, who advise us. They tell us your measurements are not correct, your treatment of people is not correct, your prices are not upto the mark, things like this. Well, I do not for a moment imagine or want you to believe nor am I so unimaginative as to think that you will believe that a 100 per cent efficiency has been reached. We have some level of efficiency,

but we are learning fast and we are getting the maximum amount of help from the tribals on the one hand and from the public also on the other and I must also say in fairness to the merchants also that now we are not getting too much of unfair competition, too much of underhand dealings.

Yet, another point about the administration of the agency and the welfare is preservation of their customs, of their culture, of their music, of their dancing. How many civilised people simply become ill because they do not feel the throb of life in them ? The hillmen will dance at the least provocation. I mean, he enjoys life, even when he has not got anything in his stomach. We people, who are fed very well by the grace of the Providence, or by chance, if you will not believe in God, are always grumbling. On the other hand, that culture, that music and dance which makes him enjoy life that would never go away—that has to be preserved; I am glad to see that we are doing something—with the Museum in the Institute and all that. To harp back about another thing which Dr. Seethapathy said, as a Government Assistant Agent, I have some experience with these people. They do not want your cheroots unless you ask them to smoke with you. It is a sign of social equality. They say "who cares for your cheroot; I can buy it". A fellow who said "why believe in God when I can earn my own", you see, such a fellow is not going to expect two cheroots from you. I mean this is only a small offering of equality.

Talking about justice—I have been a Magistrate—I was also an Assistant Sessions Judge. I remember, a particular case. Two Koya Doras, spent an evening together. It was very cold, they had a fire and naturally they had also a little drink. On some little matter they began quarrelling. One fellow had a bil-hook and the other had a stick. The fellow who had a bil-hook took more drink and he began chasing the other fellow with the stick and unfortunately it so happened that he was also nimbler. This fellow tried to dodge him and run away, but he could not and finally in self protection, he took his stick and beat him on the head and the fellow dropped dead. A case was launched and the man was brought to me—he told me that he beat the other fellow who dropped dead. It took me a lot of time to elicit the fact that the other fellow had a bil-hook, that the other fellow was a younger fellow and a stronger fellow who can run faster that was the other fellow who was chasing him and that this fellow had to use this stick etc., in self protection. Naturally I have given him the nominal punishment. Probably I might have done the same thing if I might have been cornered by another friend who is dead drunk with a sickle in his hand and if I have no other way—if my throat is going to be cut, because I could not exactly measure the amount of force, of-course, some people are very thick headed but that is another matter. But unfortunately in that case he had a particularly a thin skull you see. I mean their sense of truthfulness. Their sense of honesty is a thing which you cannot have—like Sir Walter Scott. Sir Walter was a partner in a firm, and when it went into liquidation, he said I will write out—all Waverly novels were written by him,

so that as he said I may clear out my debt before I go away. But here it goes even farther—my son, my son's son shall pay not what we think to be correct, but what other man says is correct. That is the sense of honesty. Well, after knowing about their honesty, about their good characteristics, and all that what is it that we have done and what is it that we are going to do? As my friend, the Director of Social Welfare said, evaluation of the work so far done, and we have spent so many lakhs of Rupees—ofcourse, some work was done, but in a country like ours where we do not have much money—money has got to be well and wisely spent, and besides as I said, I am again agreeing with him we cannot afford to keep them as Museum pieces for all times. If we give them a little more time, five years or ten years or 20 years, they will have the same amount of encouragement to meet the ups and downs of life.

These are the problems that the Seminar has to tackle, but I would place a few practical ideas for the consideration of the Seminar. First and foremost is the protected water supply in the agency and in most of the villages it is possible because we have got springs. These springs unfortunately are defiled by various animals. The only thing that we have got to do is to erect some sort of cistern and have a tap—a sort of protected water supply. That ordinary act of improvement will have to be carried out to an extraordinary point. No. 2, medical aid to the extent possible. When I said to the extent possible, because I am even now visualising the distance, the difficulties in communication and the difficulties of reaching the people. Medicine chests with people who can use them with elaborate instructions must be sent there. As the Hon. Minister was pleased to observe, we can proudly claim that we have eradicated Malaria. As a matter of fact, many of us, people who worked there decades back there remember, how we had suffered, our children had suffered from Malaria which sometimes had permanent effects especially upon children. We have eradicated yaws. I was one of the unfortunate people who saw scores of people suffering from yaws and I am also one of the fortunate people to see how the place is free from yaws. That is indeed a great thing that has been done.

But then, they started schools everywhere and many of the children, I may apply that cardinal axiom, just like in the plains, they also should have schools and many schools too and when we have schools, we must also have facilities for mid-day meals and also for food. I remember one particular school was launched on, six children were there, I said why have not you boys gone home, they replied "we have our own houses, but what is there to eat—there is nothing to eat". That sort of thing should not happen. I mean, atleast for the children who go to school, we will have to provide mid-day meals.

In the matter of agriculture, I can assure you that the tribals are second to none, you can see people in Araku who have taken up transplantation of paddy and in the last five or six years were getting very good yield, who have taken up to the cultivation of vegetables, exotic and indigenous,

who are doing very well. One fellow, I appreciate him, said, I will flood the whole of Visakhapatnam with potatoes, and that year he grew 20 thousand tons of potatoes. Not that he will be able to flood the whole of the City, I know what the area of it is and all that, but the spirit behind it. And in some of the houses, I have seen first class poultry. It should be possible for them to get ideas instead of our putting ideas into their heads. Let them imbibe ideas in the real sense that is drawing out not putting in. They should be brought out—to the plains, instead of bringing the plainsmen there; of course, if you can get the right type of plainsmen, it is very good; but if you are not able to get the right type of plainsmen, let us spend a little more money, take the tribals out and make them study some-thing and that would go a long way.

Talking about that much debated subject, religion, I had a very ennobling experience in a Gond village. I went to one of the old Gonds, the old Gond Chief took me there and said that is our prayer house, even before he was saying, I was about to pull out my shoes and then go inside and then he said, think of any power which you believe—meditate for five minutes, close your eyes and meditate and went away, and when I turned round the man is not to be found and about ten minutes latter he came round. Mind you, I do not know whether it is primitive religion or an advanced religion. I have not even come up to that stage leave alone beyond that stage. Therefore, if any of us feel that we are superior to them in any way we are very much mistaken. I do not want to take much more of your time especially because we have experts from all over. I am, indeed, very happy to see eminent anthroplogists, professors on anthropology, adiministrators assembled here who will touch upon all the aspects and I am certain that some of the recommendations which would be made here, would be put into practice and will bear fruit also very soon. But the full effect of any particular improvement will naturally take years but the effective effort will have to continue. We cannot afford to deprive ourselves of the work done by the eminent anthropologists and after all we are here to apply what the other people have brought out by study—therefore I am absolutely certain that if hundred administrators who are trained in this Institute imbibe some of the things from the Univérsities and from the eminent people who have come here, the result will come out in the next thirty years and for the years to come, because each man in his turn will be influencing silently and by example dozens of other administrators.

I once again welcome everybody who has come over here to partake in the Seminar. I thank the organisers once more and the Hon. Minister for having given me the opportunity to talk on a subject about which I do not know much, but I love much. Because as I said I have spent a very good part of my life, especially of the best period of my life, I do not think no man can say till he dies, that he has finished the best period of life—one of the best periods of my life for about a decade along with these people.

Valedictory Address.

Prof. CHRISTOPH VON FURER HAIMENDORF
School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London.

Before speaking to you about problems of tribal welfare, I wish to say how extremely pleased I am to be once more in Hyderabad and how honoured I am by the invitation to take part in your Seminar. Some of the participants in the Seminar have drawn a distinction between the attitude of anthropologists and that of administrators. It almost appeared as if in all practical affairs anthropologists and administrators took necessarily opposite views. My own experience does not bear this out I started my career as an anthropologist and had taught for some years in Universities before, almost by accident, I became involved in administration, first in the area now known as NEFA, and then in Hyderabad State. Some of you will remember that for five years I was in charge of the Social Service Department, which in those days was largely concerned with tribal affairs. After leaving Hyderabad I went back to academic life and I admit that it has given me great pleasure to deal during these last few days once more with practical matters concerning the tribes of Andhra Pradesh. I always felt that the ten years I spent in Hyderabad as Adviser for Tribes and Backward Classes were perhaps the most satisfying part of my career connected with India and with anthropology. For I think that an academic discipline gains greatly in value if it can somehow be applied to practical affairs, and to have had the chance of applying my anthropological knowledge to concrete problems has greatly increased my understanding of human society.

In the course of the deliberation of this Seminar I myself and those who had worked with me in the Social Service Department often referred

to the experience we had gained and to the manner in which we had tried to tackle tribal problems. These problems have not fundamentally changed in the fifteen years since I left Hyderabad, and the fact that anybody dealing with tribal welfare has still to wrestle with problems which were more or less the same even twenty years ago shows that those who optimistically think of a five or even ten year span for the solution of tribal problems are somewhat unrealistic. Let us face this situation. Today modern civilization is being brought into areas which until recently were hardly in touch with the outside world. There tribal communities had lived under economic conditions of great primitiveness. In the case of a few small tribes,such as the Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh, the general pattern of living was not very different from that of stone age man, even though they did not use stone implements. We know that it is not easy for an individual to adjust himself to a totally. different environment within a few years. Such an adjustment is even more difficult for a whole community, because people who live together—in their traditional style continually reinforce their own values. If a man from Hyderabad goes to New York he will all the time deal with New Yorkers, and so he may, perhaps within ten years,become like an American in many of his reactions. An individual Chenchu, Reddi or Gond can do the same if he leaves his own social environment. But a whole community, whose members continuously reinforce their old values by living together in traditional styles, needs very much more time before it can radically change. I do not think therefore that the problem of tribal communities can be solved within a very few years. So I would rather not talk of five years as an adequate time for adjustments. 25 to 30 years may have to pass before new generations of tribals can adjust themselves to the changes bro ght about by the impact of the modern world on their habitat.

The cardinal problem around which all the deliberations of this Tribal Seminar revolved was that of the relations between tribal and non-tribals. I think we are agreed that there are differences between them. There are above all linguistic distinctions, and these have remained most pronounced where small communities live more or less isolated in areas with bad communications. Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose had pointed out that the tribals cannot expect to remain the same when all India is changing. No body thinks that they will not change. The question is only the speed of the change and its direction. A certain integration with more advanced communities must be aimed at and I think we are all agreed that this integration should not be entirely at the expense of the tribal way of living, but that there should be some give and take. This is in no way a problem peculiar to India, because the whole world is now in flux, and face-to-face contacts are continuously increasing. More and more people travel in areas other than their own home lands, and this leads inevitably to an increasing integration of different cultures. But in this integration of the world, it is undesirable that any one way of life developed in one particular part of the world, should displace the traditional pattern of life of other regions. In the western world there is much talk about the so-called American way of life, and certain aspects of European life have in recent years undoubtedly been Americanized. But many Europeans are not altogether happy about the spread of this 'Americanization', even though it has now here reached a stage where

Prof. C. Von-Furer Haimendorf giving valedictory address to the delegates on the last day of the seminar.

Photo by Minha

the old European way is entirely replaced. Yet the instinctive European reaction to the possiblity of an increasing Americanization indicates that every community, small or large, is interested in maintaining at least to some extent its traditional way of life and its traditional values. I think, therefore, that no one should blame the tribals of India for having been slow in assimilating the culture and style of living of the adjoining economically more advanced populations. With the exception of some of the hill tribes of Assam, which had very few contacts with the people of the plain and had therefore remained until recently totally separated from the main streams of Indian civilization, all tribals have adopted customs, ways of worship, ideas and often even the languages of advanced populations. By doing this they have already made their contribution to a gradual integra tion of the various ethnic groups of India.

In the course of this seminar it has been repeatedly said that in this process of integration there should be a give and take, and that certain features of tribal cultures, such as dances and music, might well be adopted by other communities. I wonder whether any of you who have experience of conditions in tribal areas really believe that this has been done to any appreciable extent or that there is any likelihood of it happening in the future. It seems that populations which are economically or politically dominant always think their own way of life is the best. If, you really want that the tribal cultural values should be preserved—and I do not say that all of you consider their preservation important then it seems essential to help the tribals economically and politically so that in their relations to other communities they can hold their own. Only between communities which are economically comparable can there be a give and take in the cultural field.

Those who advocate protection for tribals do not want to keep them where they are ; quite on the contrary, they want to save them from economic exploitation in order to allow them to jump the gap which separates them from their more advanced neighbours. However in recent times industrialisation and an increasing mechanisation has often had the effect of widening the gap between the economically progressive towns' people and the ordinary rural population. But when we consider the aboriginal tribes we find that the gap between them and their advanced neighbours is even greater. If we accept then that the Tribals are in many ways distinct from the rest of the population, the question of protection inevitably arises. There are various ways of protecting them against exploitation and the dominance of advanced populations. One has been the notification of Scheduled Tribes. Another is the notification of tribal areas or agency tracts and this too has been done in many Indian States. Here in Andhra Pradesh many tribal areas have been notified and the principle of notification was not a problem we had to discuss in our Seminar. A connected problem, however, is the reservation of seats for tribals. Such reserved seats exist in the Legislative Assembly. The question was raised whether in tribal blocks, where there is a majority of tribals, the post of the President of the Panchayat Samithi should be reserved for tribals. Although there was no complete consensus of opinions on this point, most of us feel that such a rule would be useful,

particularly in cases where there is a great difference in the general economic standards of the tribals and the non-tribal minority.

Another important point is the position of the tribal minorities in non-tribal blocks. They need not be small minorities, but may amount 40 or 45% of the total population of the block. I think that in such non-tribal blocks the officers of a department specially interested in Tribal Welfare would have an important task, for it would fall to them to see that the interests of the Tribals are not disregarded by the non-tribal majority. My attention has been drawn to the problem of tribes such as the Chenchus, who live in a compact area, but are too few in numbers to justify the creation of a tribal block. I wonder whether in such special cases it would be possible to devise some scheme which would provide for such small tribes benefits similar to those enjoyed by the more populous tribes living in tribal blocks.

Fundamental to the whole question of tribal rehabilitation is the land problem. We are all agreed on that. There were in the old Provinces and there are in the present States Laws reltricting the alienation of the tribal land. The trouble is that such laws are not easily enforced. And this confirms me in the opinion that the most important single factor in any policy of tribal rehabilitation is the availability of sympathetic officers who see that laws made for the benefit of the tribals are really enforced. In Andhra Pradesh the position is perfectly clear, and in theory there should be no more alienation of tribal land. Yet, in the course of our discussions we have heard of many occasions when even the land which was allocated to tribals under the special tribal schemes only ten or fifteen years ago, has again been taken from the rightful tribal owners and is firmly in the hands of non-tribals. Why should this have happened? Nobody wants it to happen I mean nobody except the people who have grabbed the land—certainly nobody in the administration and, I am sure, also none of the legislators. The reason is that administration in tribals areas is not easy and that the problems of tribal areas have never had high priority. For because they are backward and relatively inaccessible areas, they are not much in the view of Governments and administrators.

A point on which all members of the Seminar were unanimous was the need for a special cadre of what we might call 'tribal specialist'. It has been my experience, both in the old Hyderabad State and elsewhere in India, that officers who serve for some years in tribal areas and learn the local language, which may be an unwritten dialect, will after some time identify themselves with the interests of the tribals. It is essential, of course, that such officers have some powers, for otherwise their sympathy with the tribals will only lead to frustration; they must have authority to afford the tribals effective protection and to enforce the laws laid down for their benefit. Only then can they succeed in their efforts to raise the tribals' economic and educational standards, and can act as a link between the tribals and the various other departments of the administration.

What should be the qualifications of such ' tribal specialists'? Dealing with tribals obviously requires some human insight and sympathy, and it happens that a liking for people usually comes with an understanding of their way of life. It is therefore necessary to take an interest in all aspects of tribal culture, even those which do not appear very important from the point of view of an administrator. Those who have some training in anthropology or sociology have probably better chance to develop interest and hence some liking, for, the people among whom they are working than, officers who have never taken an interest in any culture other than their own.

I do not deny that officers who have not had any specialized training may also develop such understanding and sympathy, and some of the outstandingly successful officers of the old Hyderabad Social Service Department have indeed never had any anthropological training of a formal nature. But a young man who comes fresh from college or university will find it easier to adapt himself to work in a tribal area if he had some instruction in anthropology or a related discipline. In recruting the officers of a special cadre for work in tribal areas those with some training in anthropology or social work should hence be given preference. There is no doubt such persons will show more tolerance and be less set in the values of their own culture and community. They will have learnt that there are many different approaches to life and will therefore have a better chance to appreciate tribal culture. This is more important than it may appear at first sight. In all spheres of life people respond best if they are appreciated. People to whom we merely dispense charity will take what we give them, but they will not be encouraged to make any efforts of their own. On the other hand, if you appreciate people, if you make it evident that you like them and see much which is good and valuable in their pattern of life, then you will find that they gain confidence and listen to your advice. But if you tell people or even imply it in your attitude that whatever their value is bad, and that you are going to remodel their lives and replace their traditional customs with something new, they are not likely to react favourably. The right approach, I think, is to begin by trying to understand people, then to like them, and then to express your appreciation.

The Tribal Research Institute can play an important role in promoting the appreciation of tribal cultures, and I have no doubt that under the direction of my old friends and colleagues Shri Kamala Manohar Rao and Shri Rabinandan Pratap the new Institute will make an important contribution to the understanding and the study of tribal societies in Andhra Pradesh It was a great pleasure to participate in this Seminar organised by the Institute and I should like to thank the Government of Andhra Pradesh for having invited me to join in your discussions. I hope that they will bear fruit and benefit the tribal communities of this great State.

Concluding Remarks

Sri M. PURUSHOTHAM PAI, I.C.S.
Chief Secretary to Government,
Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

We have had a very interesting talk and I think it is worth pondering over many of the points which Professor Haimendorf has made, particularly about paying more attention to the economic life and health of the tribal rather than any interference, any direct interference with his social and cultural life. We are all proned to treat the tribal as primitive man. Well, some tribal communities are no doubt primitive, by and large I think the correct distinction is that they are different and not that they are primitive and that very probably in many respects they lead a happier and healthier life than most of us do and consequently we have to learn as much as we teach. In any case in dealing with the tribal one does want a very sympathetic understanding and the spirit of a missionary rather than the spirit of someone which tries to teach something or impose something.

Well, I would not like to eloborate on various points, but one or two points are worth repeating. I think it is worth paying special attention to small groups of tribals on the lines of the adhoc blocks which I am told Mysore has so that these communities can develop in accordance with their own traditions and their own genius and are not lost in a larger group in giving attention to whom the small community finds itself thrown to the wall. Personally also, I have been little doubtful whether some of our own institutions in the stage at which they exist to-day are worth taking to the tribal areas. Co-operation is one. Co-operation as we understand it in many respects, if not all, not so much mutual help between various individuals which is what 'co-operation' connotes, but rather getting together

for the purpose of borrowing—something like bank or some agency. It is not so much mutual help as envisaged I do not think that sort of attitude should very well be taken to the tribal areas where they have a refreshing feeling towards ones neighbour, something which we should copy rather something which we try to alter through some institutions which are in an experimental stage in the more advanced parts of the country. I am rather reminded of a story I read somewhere about a missionary who came across a Red Indian sitting by a river and lazing, fishing to spend his time and this missionary to the Red Indian whom he thought he would help. 'My dear man, why do'nt you spend your time doing some work rather than idling away like this ? and the Red Indian asked "Why should I work ?" and the missionary replied, "well, if you work you will earn money and with that money you can live a happy life and you can save some money, in course of time you will have a fairly good bank account and then when you are too old to work you can retire and spend your time happily doing nothing". The Red Indian proudly came back, that is precisely "what I am doing now ; why should I go through all this process to reach what you say.' Well, I am sure, the tribal is not having that sort of an attitude to what we are doing to help him.

One of the things which administrators should try to avoid doing is to impose some of the sicknesses of our own society upon the tribal. There should be some system of innoculation against the worst features of the sophisticated life which is your own and my own and if this is done, if this is borne in mind I think a good deal of work can be done in the tribal areas in the economic and health fields.

Well, I would not like to say very much more, because this is the end of a taxing seminar where a good deal of discussion was though has gone and I would not like to add to it now. Once more I would like to express my thanks to Prof. Haimendorf for the very interesting talk he has given to us and the many points he has laid before us foi thought and for speculation.

Vote of Thanks.

Sri. B. R. K. SASTRY, M.A. I.A.S.,
Director of Social Welfare,
Ex-Officio Dy.
Secretary. Edu. Dept. A.P.

I am glad to state that even a Seminar on Tribal Welfare, admitted by anthropologists as a complicated affair, has come to a close. The subject of Tribal Welfare is inexhaustible but the patience of the audience and participants is not. However, it is a great tribute to the participants that within a short period, this Seminar has come to grips with the problems and while the inevitable clash of mutually opposing ideas refreshed us, and occasionally provided the much-needed amusement, the serious attention, the problems deserved was never lost. At last the administrators and the anthropologists met, clashed and parted, I believe, with a mutual respect for each others' roles and ideas. I am sure this first meeting will pave the way for more such, and academic idea and practical experience will stand to benefit with such increasing contacts. Special mention has to be made of the approach of Prof. Bose and his practical wisdom whose utterances for their epigrammatic wit and pragmatism have been unequalled. The greatest achievement of this seminar, in my view, is the recognition of the fact that conditions of life and livelihood of tribals are fast changing and it is not given to any body to prescribe a way of life for the tribal, to make him sing and dance in his own way or do this or that or some other. If we attempt to do it, we will be the king Canutes willing the waves to stop. At best, we can ease his transition from a traditional and placid life to an urbanised and money-dominated economy, give them tools to equip themselves well in the inevitable fight for existence. Man lives by his sweat alone and even a tribal has to learn the alphabet of modern living in the same agonising way, the plainsmen travelled earlier. Let us therefore not give ourselves the vanity of laying down the destiny for tribals

to preserve his culture, characteristics and way of living—for forces beyond our control,'the winds of change" are blowing around us. We should assess the impact of this change and help the tribals in this switch over to modern way of living. We can neither stop it nor slow its pace. Let us be aware of it before we think of protection, preservation or pickling of tribal welfare. All that remains for me is to thank one and all of you.

At the outset I thank the Hon'ble Minister for Excise, Prohibition and Social Welfare, for having inaugurated the seminar and made it a success. Our Chief Secretary who has a special fondness for tribals has found time to be with us and we are indebted to him for his presence here. Shri K,N. Anantharaman First Member, Board of Revenue, somebody has said, has two loves ; one tribals and the second fisheries—a strange combination. His presence and advice is invaluable to us. We are thankful to him. I thank the special Secretary to Government, Education Department Sri L. N. Gupta, I. A. S. for having participated in the deliberations of the Seminar. I am extremly grateful to the distinguished guests, Prof. Von-Furer Haimendorf, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, Professor N. K. Bose, Director of Anthropological Survey of India, Dr. Sachchidananda, Director, Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi, Dr. N. S. Reddy, Reader in Anthropology, Andhra University, Waltair, for having come over here and for having illuminated the discussions with their knowledge in Anthropology. I thank Miss. Kanga Head of the Department of Anthropology, Osmania University, and Dr. G. Seethapathy for having accepted our invitation and participated in the discussions of the seminar. I thank Sri V. Raghavayya, President, Andhra Rashtra Adimajati Sevak Sangh, Nellore, Sri Bheema Rao, M.L.A., Smt. Vani Ramana Rao, and Shri L.N. Rao, Assistant Commissioner for Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes, for having participated in the discussions. I would like to make special mention of Sri Suryanarayana, Special Grade Block Development Officer, Araku valley, who has a wealth of detail and fund of practical experience, and his participation in the discussions had blown off the chaff from the grain. I also thank the Collector, Adilabad, Block Development Officers, District Social Welfare Officers, Social workers, representing various voluntary agencies working for the tribals and also Professors and Lecturers of Osmania University and other allied institutions for having participated in the discussions. I would like to thank the Heads of Departments of Forests, Fisheries, Education and others who participated and made the seminar an illuminating experience.

I specially thank the trainees of the first long term training course of this Institute for their interest and co-operation evinced during their stay in the Institute and I am particularly happy to say that the Guest Speakers who came and had an exchange of views with them, were particularly impressed with their inquisitiveness. I bid good-bye to them and wish them all success to their future career.

In conclusion I thank you, one and all, ladies and gentlemen, who attended the Seminar and made it a success.

"My Experiences With The Savaras"

Dr. G. V. Sithapathi,
Liguist and Research Scholar Hyderabad.

I hail from Parlakmidi and Parlakmidi is a very important place, because it is very close to the Savaras, the first tribal representatives of India. Though there are so many other names like Mundaris, Santaries etc., Suvari or Swari, Savara was the original name and I am therefore disposed to mention Savara as the appropriate name for the tribes in India, because mention was made of the Savaras in Veda, Rig-Veda, Aiteraya, Brahmana, the Puranas, etc. These Savaras were trucking further eastwards and southwards on account of the forces of the Aryans and thus settled in some parts of southern India near Calcutta in Central Province and latter in Ganjam district of Old Madras Presidency. Even to-day you find north of Parlakmidi about fifty thousand savaras who know no other language other than their own Savara. For about two years I learnt their language, because the first lesson I learnt was, that no scholar can investigate these tribes particularly those whose language is far different from ours until and unless you study their language, enter their abode, converse with them; make friends with them, gain their confidence and then investigate. The first investigators entered the forest and wanted to approach these Savaras but they fled and they could never investigate. And so, I learnt their language. They flocked together

As an investigator, I gained some experience and placed before the investigators and those that are engaged in the welfare of these tribes and

their life my own experience, difficulties to be surmounted in doing this particular work of humanity. I remember one interesting anecdote. In the year 1938, the Canadian Baptist Missionary requested me to translate parts of the Bible into Savara language. I stayed there for about six months but could not do more than two Gospels. I gained two experiences here. First thing, I thought that the Savara language was not so rich as my own Telugu language. But I learnt from experience that if you remove the Sanskrit element from Telugu I can say and prove that the Savara language is richer than Telugu. You will be surprised to hear that. The greatness or richness of a language does not depend upon the vocabulary but upon the resources, conservation act. upon the mind of the speakers of the mother-tongue. They do not want to incorporate into their language foreign words. But, the English language has progressed very rapidly and even Johnson, the first lexicographer will be surprised at the number of words in the Oxford Dictionary he may not know if he is born again and if he hears, fifty per cent of the words that are now in the Dictionary. This is becuase, the English people are so liberal as to admit into their language not merely Anglo-Saxon but words of so many other languages and I say that there is hardly any language in the world from which the English have not borrowed. The Savaras have such a knack I used to invite them to learn from them. First day four savaras came. They sat in the hall. The hall contained two sets of doors, one with shutters and the other flat. I wanted the Savaras to say how they could distinguish between these two sets of doors. 'Sanandan' is the name of the door in the Savara language and in compounds each word enters into it not in the full form but in the clipped form, 'Sanandan' becomes 'Sandan'—halved, 'Gentle' 'Man' in a compound it becomes 'gentleman' 'Yuga' pada' Sanskrit—it becomes 'Yugapad' 'Su' 'Danta' it becomes 'Sundant.' So, in Savara language whenever there is a compound, such clipped forms enter. He looked at the two doors. 'Arbu-sandan', he said to the shuttered door. 'Arbu' is armadillo, an animal with the rough skin like tiles of a house. The other one is 'Sanandan.' He said this is Abru sandan, this is sanandan. Apparently, he coined these words in answer to my query. On the next day, another set of Savaras came. Without any attempt on my part I said 'ye gaya nina arbusandan ria.' Then he looked at the doors and opened the right door. 'How could you know that? I said. 'You said arbu-sanda this is like arbu and so I could understand it.' With the same set of words by compounding, by mixing two words as in Sanskrit or English, they create new words to express new thoughts. That is resourcefulness of the language. I wondered if the Savara language possessed such resources. We are disposed to think that we are superior in civilisation and we are, at the same time disposed to think that they are rough people without any trace of civilisation with barbarism. No. But the Savaras proved to be as prompt in manners, in gentlemanship as we are. Now there are some songs. One song, says "I have only one mat, all the edg s of which are torn." My guest has come, I gave the mat to my guest and myself I sat on the floor.' When friendship is gained, they would offer a dish to the guest and say, may we partake the food out of the same plate.' That is

They are very good huntsmen. Mr. Austin was the District Collector. He held a sportive competition. "Ye constables come here use your pistol. There is a mango there high up on the branches of the mango tree. They use their bows and arrows and you use your pistol. All the constables failed. The very first shot hit with the arrow touched the mango. Well, they are very intelligent people. We have neglected them.

Religion is a very important and intricate subject. Most of us will fail to define what is meant by religion, either by derivation or anything else. We may tentatively take it to mean, a conception on the part of man of a divine or superhuman power that can command us to obedience, reverence and worship. Beyond that we cannot say. Many people are disposed to think that the Savara religion was animism. What about you, the religion of the vedas, the Rig-veda no better. Only the means are different.

The Savaras never pray. Their religion is commercial. They have a conception of the supreme powers. Supreme powers are not one but many. All the ailments are caused by the evil spirits, good is done by good spirits. All types of ailments a savara would say, were caused by evil spirits. To the particular evil spirit that caused the ailme nt the savara would say, "the other day I offered you a calf,to-day I am offering a goat, how long are you going to keep my son ill, I have done my duty, you have not done your duty". He would challenge the spirit. Their religion is commercial . Once, I asked ' wo'nt you pray God give us our bread. ' Nonsense ' he said—I must earn my bread—who is God to give it to me ? Suppose I do'nt work, I only pray, can God get me bread ? No. But these evil spirits are evil, therefore they cause ailment '. There are thousand and one evil spirits and they have to be appeased. That is how they are losing their property. Some ailments are caused by the evil spirits who require the sacrifice of a buffaloe. Even in those days, a bufalloe would cost about Rs. 15. How can they get it ? There were at the elbow, the pawners to offer them money. They lend ten rupees or fifteen rupees. ' Ba, you need not return that money to me. Do'nt be in a hurry, only pay interest to me '. What is the interest—a measure or two of each crop that they raise, a potful of honey, two potfuls of toddy. What would this amount to ? More than fifteen rupees in the market as price. Now, I particularly tell this example to the organisers of this Welfare organisation. You are aiming to save their property. Look at the terrible waste to which they are put. The religion has to be interfered with in a very tactful manner.

About their honesty, there need be no doubt. I wonder if we have here police friends. The law is such there must be proper evidence in murder cases, otherwise the Judge will not pass a judgment in favour of the prosecution. One savara young man went to the forest but could not get even a fish or a bird for his sauce. He returned home with his bow and arrows. His mother served him mere porridge without any sauce. ' What mother, how can I eat this? 'O, you big man, spent two hours but could not find a

fish. You don't deserve more than this' said his mother. He was excited, there was the bow and arrow—he shot his mother dead. After her death, he began to cry. The neighbours came, ' I did this crime' he said. According to the tribal laws, he was fined, forced to give dinner to all the villagers and drink. This was done. Two months latter,the police came to know of it, and arrested him. ' who are you ? he said to the police, ' I committed this murder, I was punished for that, the whole thing was closed, who are you now to renew the case '. It was not possible to convince that young man that he has to be tried by the police according to the British laws. Who are these British? he said. We live in our land. We are subject to the tribal laws and I was already punished.' And then the case came for trial. I was asked to be helpful to Mr. Austin, the Agent. He was holding the sessions. The tribal would repeatedly say, ' why all this bother. I admit I committed this murder, punish me if you have to punish me". One man on prosecution side entered into the box The accused asked him, ' what fellow, were you there when I committed this murder. Were you in the room when I killed my mother. You went to Parlakmidi to the Shandy, I know. You brought me also some things.' Then the District Collector asked me to tell him, "We shall give him an opportunity to cross-examine, let him not distrub." When I translated this to the accused he burst out saying, " what is this Judge—when I speak the truth and confess, he does not believe me. But when the false witness enters into the box and prattle nonsense, he will listen to them. What is this justice ?" This is how they will attack. When a young man had a quarrel with his father's younger brother as regards division of property. That man said, this is my order, you get this portion, this is for me, if you accept well and good, otherwise fellow, I wo'nt give a grain of the produce. Then this young man-only 14 or 15 years of age, ran to fetch his maternal uncle and as he was running, his paternal uncle who quarreled with him abused this young man and used filthy language referring to his mother. Bring the private husband of your mother' he said. He lost his temper and shot his uncle dead and atonce ran to the outpost of the police and confessed his offence–"I could not tolerate it, so I killed my uncle–come and see if he is alive, give him any medical help." The case came for trial, false witnesses were produced by the police and there also the same thing happened. So, make use of these virtues of these tribal people. When you investigate, it must be an investigation for your scientific knowledge and more than that for the welfare of the tribals. They were abreast of time the music and you will be surprised to find that their, music was on a par with of our ancestors in the vedic period. Because I know how to play the Rig-vedic hyms on the veena, there are only three notes or four notes—the same are similar to the notes that the savara music has. They start with Nishada–one note vido Sadaja and I hazarded on my speculation. It is only Nishada, because Nishada started with that note, like Gandhara that was started by Gandharvas. And you know there is a musical instrument stringed instrument in this museum you may go and test it. The same string on the freds–only o three freds—that means four notes. A note without any fred and three notes— a drone, it is kept in Shadjama. To the string on the freds

is Nishada—what is this. He places his finger on the Nishada fred. Then it becomes Sadaja. He placed his hand when he wants to show the lower note—it is difficult. I was wondering why he made this fred. He looked at me smiling at my innocence and ignorance. Why do you waste strings he said . I wanted the necessity of two strings by providing the under-note nishada—here I raised it whenever I want it. You know all the folk songs of the present day start with Nishada. Bhajana songs-some of them start with Nishada.

Now in the field of medicine—medicine magic and prayer-these are the three things that all world over people practice. We give greater importance to medicine now. But are not we having charms. You give 'psycho-therepaty'-a big name. The irony and fun of it is when the English and the Germans had their war, both the Germans and the English prayed to the same God. To whom would he listen. Savaras have proved it. We must fight, we must have the capacity—who is God to help us here likewise in the case of ailments the evil spirits are causing this, we must appease them. Then they have 'charms' and what is more wonderful is that by giving a bribe to the Savara priest I got hold of two charms to remove the evil effects of sorcery and the sting of a scorpion. I came home, opened the Yajurveda, and found these two charms there–one would appear as the translation of the other. Adolus Frathen would say, 'these savaras borrowed these charms from us. I would smile at that and say no, no, your Yajurveda, Atharvanaveda people borrowed them from the savaras. How do you maintain ? Look at two words there—some nonsense syllables also are to be in the charms, aligi biligi '—which has no meaning in Sanskrit but has meaning in the savara language. What ' aligi ' means is a drink—' biligi ' means giving something. When I mentioned this in a paper that I read in 1945 in the Science Congress of Nagpur it was published. Dr. Agarvala in Delhi noticed it and he wrote to me. ' I was a regular student of Adharvanaveda, I noticed this charm there, I was not able to understand what is meant by ' aligi biligi ', now you have given me the interpretation.'

Mind you, when, any two languages the same word appears, do not rush to the conclusion that the more civilised language is the giver and less civilised language is the receiver. It may be the other way. How do you test ? The giver is not content with that word alone. It would have other derivatives from that word but the borrower has only that word and nothing else.

And another thing that they possess and we do not. From a distance of one or two miles they can smell the existence of a tiger. From a distance they can say whether the tiger is crying on account of hunger or love-making or any other. Sense of hearing, sense of smelling and so many other virtues. Do not think that these hill tribes are fools or rude uncivilised people. Do not look down upon them. Do not look with an air of superiority. There is one Rig-vedic hymn. ' No one is superior-no one is inferior before

God-we are all brothern and equals—we possess the same kind of intelligenc only the difference lies on account of opportunities we have."

Now I congratulate the organisers of this Institute for two things. In good old days there was no help for anthropological studies, Neither the Government, nor the universities nor any public institution recognised its importance. When I started the ethnological studies, it was with great difficulty that I convinced the Andhra University who sent me as a reserach scholar. I went to Calcutta and also then studied how to take anthropological measurements, but who would appreciate that work, who wanted it No university cared to open a chair for anthropology or even for ethnography. It is only Sri Aushuthsh Mukerjee that had the courage to open new chairs for new subjects. Now if you are really intrested in the study of anthropology, you must do the service to the present and future generation.

Anthropology is a very wide and extensive subject consisting of ethnology, sociology, comparative philology and each of these three requires the assistance of a number of sciences. Geography is said to be the handmaid of sciences. I say more than geography is your anthropology. Now some universities are opening chairs for anthropology. I am not quite satisfied with that. Why not you include among syllabus required for the SSLC students, ethnography, if not ethnology, or practical ethnology, It is not a very difficult subject, not more intricate than physics or chemistry. Light lessons from all these sciences will help the student to follow ethnology. I appeal to the Minister of Education of this province the Chief Secretary, Education Department, to the Heads of Schools and Colleges to the vice-chancellors and the Members of the Syndicate to think seriously on this subject. I will tell you its importance. The English anthropologist went to the Easter Island just two weeks before the death of the only man that can read the script there. Early explorers—those that investigated did not know script. Now things are improved. If you delay, you lose the opportunity—already many years of the civilisation for the primitive man we have lost. Although in ancient days the westerners were centuries behind our ancestors we are now a century behind the western scholars in the study of scientific subject. Let us prove to be an example.

First Session

"Tribal Economy And Welfare Work"

President: *Sri* V. RAGHAVAYYA.

The State Seminar on 'Tribal Welfare' split up, its work into 4 sections and the one entrusted to our Section was "Tribal Economy and Welfare Work". We started our deliberations in the Afternoon of 29th December and completed them in the Forenoon of 30th. Many speakers took part in the discussions which were enriched by the learned views of reputed Anthropologists, like Prof. Haimendorf, Professor, N. K. Bose, several Block Development Officers, and expressed the views on the various difficulties and obstacles they came across not only into approach to Tribals but also in convincing them of the soundness of the ameliorative measures designed by the Government for tribal welfare. We had the advantage of experienced officials like Sri L. N. Gupta, Special Secretary, Education, and Sri B. R. K. Sastry, Director of Social Welfare. We heard with much attention their views as well as the opinion of Dr. Subba Reddy, Reader in Anthropology, Andhra University, Waltair. A few lady officials and social workers helped us with their views. Any difference of opinion that existed was ironed out in the course of the discussions and the proposals finally adopted by our Seminar were unanimous. The discussions lasted for hours and were carried on in a spirit of mutual understanding entirely free from dogma. I am glad to report that high standard was maintained throughout the deliberations I summarise below the recommendations of the Seminar relating to "Tribal Economy and Welfare Work".

(1) *Nature of ownership of the land.*—The circumstances under which it is alienated to non-tribals and the steps to be taken to prevent such alienations.

This topic being absorbing in its very nature and context and particular reference to the Tribal land occupied nearly a third of our entire discussions and resulted in very useful suggestions contributed by different quarters for solution of problems arising from them.

It was admitted on all sides that much valuable Tribal land had passed into the hands of non-tribals. Most of these were the lands assigned to them by the State free of cost or are being enjoyed by them from times immemorial. Inheritance in ownership from sire to son is disturbed owing to the absence of the easy credit facilities and the growing requirements of Tribals primarily in regard to the elementary requirements like food, raiment, housing and occasional but necessary functions like marriage funeral, etc., cost the Tribal much and have to borrow from some one or the other. As the State had no machinery like the recently started Andhra Scheduled Tribes Co-operative Finance and Development Corporation, the Tribal people had to approach the money- lenders from the plains who, with his winning ways and timely assistance, rescued the Tribals from many an ackward plight.

In some cases, this obligation resulted not only in a creditor-debtor bond but went even further in establishing a more than friendly, and in some cases, fiduciary relationship between the money lender and the Tribal. As the debt increases the truthful simple and gullible tribal felt it was his duty to part with the land. The transfer of the land was almost painless. Even the Corporation with all its colossal resources has not been able to provide small loan's in regard to the above-mentioned day to day needs of the Tribals. The Corporations approach was and perhaps had to be cautions bound by the various rules and procedures like a co-operative set up, surety bonds, assessments of the debtor' property, etc., which were totally absent in the Tribals' dealings with the plains Sowcar. No wonder that the land of the Tribals found its way into the hands of the money-lenders. It was made out in the course of the discussions that in Ashoknagar, a Tribal Colony formed by the Government in Warangal district, hundreds of acres were purchased by the plains' ryots. It was stated that even though the officials were fully aware of these transactions, no attempt was made to cancel them by a strict and timely enforcement of the terms and conditions of the concerned land by the Government to the Tribal. The Seminar took the view that a stricter enforcement of prevailing laws provision of adequate credit facilities as well as social education and effective propaganda were the only remedies to eradicate this evil.

It was also suggested that credit facilities must be provided for the Tribals for reducing the indebtedness to the private traders and that the entire tribal people should be covered by a net work of co-operative societies catering to their requirements. It was also considered necessary that even in cases where patta ownership was not forthcoming, Takkavi and other loans may be made available and that the officials belonging to various Departments working in Tribal areas may be empowered to rush to the rescue of the Tribals unfettered by the rules and redtape delays. It was the view of all, that ownership of land in Tribal areas must have an individual

basis and that co-operative or collective ownership of land was unsuited to the Tribal mind. It was even emphatically emphasized by some speakers that collective cultivation, as attempted so far in some of the State projects, was a miserable failure. There was unanimity in holding that non-Tribals should be legally and effectively barred from purchasing Tribal land.

It was urged from every quarter that relaxation of rules was very necessary in executing tribal Schemes and that red-tape should not be allowed to come in the way of effective work. As regards the machinery to be employed for handling the work it was unanimously agreed that the Samithis with all their paraphernalia, experience, and democratic basis, as well as their resources, would be the best media for routing all amenities to the tribal areas. The Panchayati Raj has come to stay. There is no point or benefit in by passing it.

(2) *Podu or Shifting Cultivation.*—The next point of importance that gripped the attention of the conference was the practice of podu in the tribal land. It became evident that there were no authentic statistics either in regard to the extent of podu acreage, the size of the population involved in it and its proportion to the total population in the Tribal areas. A survey of the Tribal lands in regard to these matters was considered indispensable and urgent and State Government was requested to take up this survey work without delay utilising the services of the Research Institute The Institute can also be usefully utilised for evaluating the success of the various tribal projects, and the impact of several considerations like the growth of population, sufficiency of food resources, production of improved manures and the necessity as well as the desirability of intensive cultivation, taking the place of podu.

In the initial stages of discussions, it was agreed after a thorough examination of the various types of podu under practice in Tribal areas, that the damage caused to the forest wealth and the resulting rainfall by the comparative and meagre extent of podu cultivation was not appreciable. It was also hoped that in the long run the Tribal may copy fruitfully the successful example set by the plains cultivator or the miracles produced by the demonstration plots established by the Government in the Tribal areas. It was the opinion of one and all that fast eradication of podu is not desirable or at any rate, is not called for in the present circumstances. It was also felt that where podu was a way of life and part of tribal's culture, its enforced discontinuance might be a hardship and might destroy the tribals' joy of life.

(3) *Ameliorative measures.*—The Seminar urged that several ameliorative measures like terracing, contour bunding, supply of plough bulls, manures and irrigation facilities may be provided by the Government on terms which may not destroy self-help on the part of the Tribals. It was forcefully put forth by Prof. Bose that the Gandhian Philosophy in this regard should not be forgotten and that the Tribals under no circumstances should be reduced to the state of a begger depending entirely upon the Governments bounties thus losing his dignity, self-reliance and initiative

It was also suggested that the result of several pilot projects in intensive cultivation may be carefully studied by the Research Institute with particular reference to the impact produced by these reforms and innovations on the Tribal mind. Mild, effective, coaxing and convincing propaganda has to be undertaken to convert the Tribal from podu to settled plough cultivation. This could be done, it was widely felt, by experienced and specially trained workers, who with their persuasive methods and a correct background of Tribal psychology, may be able to reach and convince the Tribals about the virtues as well as the necessity for producing more food.

(4) The occurence, still, of methods of barter and exchange, and the desirability or otherwise of replacing these transactions by monetary currency was considered by the conference and it was agreed that no action was called for in this regard as the Tribals also are getting rapidly accustomed to cash dealings.

(5) *Cattle.*—It was agreed that cattle in the Tribal areas, particularly hilly areas, are puny, undernourished and cannot yield milk. Nor were they useful for plough purposes.

It was decided after hearing the officials of the Animal Husbandry Department that research was necessary for detecting the deficiency in the fodder available at present in the concerned regions and for ascertaining any other contributory causes like the prevalence of malaria, rinderpest for the present state of affairs. The Veterinary officials explained that mal-nutrition is the main cause of the ineffectiveness of the Tribal cattle and suggested upgrading, artificial insemination, destruction of unwanted cattle and sterilisation, as some of the most effective measures for improving the cattle breed.

(6) *Nutrition.*—It was pointed out that the Yams, pot-herbs, nuts, tubers, plentifully available in the forests and growing wild and to which the tribal is wedded should not be ignored in view of the prevailing deficiency of food in the country and that the nutritional values of these and other items to which the Tribals are largely addicted like honey, palm wine, mohua flowers and juice, should be examined by the Nutrition experts to enrich the prevailing supply of food stuffs.

(7) *Forest.*—The Forest Act, and the various restrictions imposed by the Forest Department came for frequent and critical comments in the Seminar. It was the opinion of all, that the Forest officials had been in the past by and large more cautious than was necessary in the enforcement of the forest code. While the income view of the Forest Department was not assailed by the Speakers, it was repeatedly urged by them that the Tribal always felt that the forest was his own land and that he has certain inherent, natural and inborn right in it and that he could not dispossess of them. It was argued that the religious hunt of the tribal, "his right to shoot and kill for his food, his right to the collection of yams, and other minor forest produce and his right to roam about the forest un-fettered by checks and restriction as he did in the millions of years were not to be destroyed by the stroke of a pen". It was the consensus of opinion that the forester must live and let live the Tribal as a co-inhabitant of the jungle and the Government should provide all the facilities required for finding

(*Left to Right*) Sri B.R.K. Sastry, Director, Social Welfare, Prof. C. Von-Furer Haimendorf Sri M. Purushotham Pai, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to Government of Andhra Pradesh in the Library of the Institute.

Photo by Minhaj

suitable and fruitful occupation for the Tribals inhabiting the jungle in the jungle itself. This could be best done by forming Tribal colonies in the forest providing the colonists with medicinal, housing, agricultural and industrial facilities to earn a decent wage in their own native habitats. Saw mills, canning factories, cane and bamboo work are some of the industries that can be successfully tried to augment the meagre income of the Tribal.

Second Session

"Tribal Education & Tribal Cultural Research"

President Prof : NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

(1) It was recommended that more importance should be given to the mother-tongue in the first two years in the education of Tribals and teachers should be selected from among the Tribals, and if not, from other groups. The teachers should speak the tribal language. They should be given lessons in elementary social anthropology so that he begins to appreciate the culture of the people among whom he is to work.

(2) The Seminar was satisfied with the present curriculam which is in vogue.

(3) It was also recommended that in Tribal areas separate schools for crafts should be opened in addition to the normal schools. Vocational guidance in crafts like Carpentary, Blacksmithy, Agriculture, etc., should be given to the students.

(4) Recommended that special preparatory schools for bright student in the tribal schools may be opened.

(5) Nutrition survey of some areas might be undertaken so that recommendations may be made about balanced food-combinations which are available in the areas in question.

(6) Specific problems of an economic nature must be dealt with by the Economists of either of the two Universities or the Economic Bureau. In this enquiry, members of the Tribal Research Institute should be closely associated in order to bring out the social factors involved.

(3) Wherever there are traditional councils and panchayats adequate use should be made of them.

(4) The Co-operative Movement was very weak in Tribal areas even though the Tribals engage in a number of co-operative activities traditionally. This traditional co-operative spirit is being lost by the introduction of money economy. To strengthen the co-operative movement greater emphasis might be laid on service co-operatives in each village. The co-operative society rules also have to be simplified, so the tribals can understand their implications. Provision should also be made to advance loans to Tribals without adequate securities, otherwise they will continue to go to the money-lenders. There should be no bar against advancing loans for meeting social expenses after necessary scrutiny by local officers. The usual delay in the granting of a loan may also be cut to the minimum.

Fourth Session

"Administration in Tribal Areas"

President : SRI. L. N. GUPTA, I. A. S.

(1) *Transfer of the functions to the Zilla Parishads and Panchayati Samithis.*–There is a predominant opinion in favour of the transfer of functions to the Panchayati Raj, but there is also a substantial opinion including the opinion of the Tribal M.L.A. not to transfer it to Zilla Parishads.

It was recommended that the powers should be with the Head of Department to sanction schemes and their locations, and the Block Development Officers to be given special powers and control over funds for speed and effective implementation of the schemes.

(2) *About the set-up—Special Cadre or otherwise.*—The group recommended that Officers of the Cadre of S.E.O., Block Development Officer, Deputy Collector, Officers of Tribal Welfare Department and as far as possible other Extension Officers, having aptitude to work in the Tribal areas may be drawn to work in Tribal areas on a tenure basis and that they may be given incentives in the shape of free quarters, free education to their children (if they stay in Tribal areas), free health services plus 20 % special pay.

The group also recommended that the above said officers should stay for a minimum period of 5 years and option may be obtained to serve for 10 years.

(3) *Existing set up.*—The group recommended that the existing Department set up may continue. At the Head of Department level, the Director of

A view of discussions on the problems of 'Administration in Tribal Areas' under the chairman ship of Sri L.N. Gupta, I..A.S., Special Secretary to Government, Education Department, Andhra Pradesh.

Tribal Research Institute, who is Ex-Officio Joint Director of Social Welfare, may tour at least for 10 days in a month. He should not be entrusted with the routine office work, except few files involving policy matters and Tribal Welfare schemes. The Deputy Director for Tribal Welfare should also continue, but the posts of the original Deputy Directors are superfluous and may be retrenched.

(4) *Transfer of Judicial powers to Munsif.*—Status quo may be retained and the Research Institute may study the feasibility of entrusting this work to the Regular Munsif Magistrate and conduct field study and submit its report.

STATE SEMINAR ON TRIBAL WELFARE

From 29th December 1963 to 31st December 1963.

PROGRAMME

29th December 1963.

Inaugural Session

10-30 a.m. to 1-00 p.m.

1. Prayer.
2. Welcome Address by Sri B.R.K. Sastry, M.A., I.A.S., Director of Social Welfare, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.
3. Inaugural Speech by Sri M.R. Appa Rao, M.A., Minister for Excise, Prohibition and Social Welfare.
4. Speeches by :
   (*i*) Dr. G. V. Seethapathi.
   (*ii*) Dr. N. S. Reddy.
5. President's Address: Sri K. N. Anantharaman, I.C.S., First Member, Board of Revenue, A.P., Hyderabad.
6. Vote of Thanks by Sri R. Pratap, M.A., Principal, Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.
7. National Anthem.

First Session.

2-30 p.m. to 5-00 p.m.

"TRIBAL ECONOMY AND WELFARE WORK".

President: Sri V. Raghavi

30th December 1963.

Second Session.

9-30 a.m. to 12-30 p.m.

"TRIBAL EDUCATION AND TRIBAL CULTURAL RESEARCH"

President: Prof. N. K. Bose.

Third Session.

2-30 p.m. to 3-30 p.m.

"PANCHAYAT RAJ AND CO-OPERATIVES IN TRIBAL AREAS"

President: Dr. Sachchidananda.

31st December 1963

Fourth Session

9-30 a.m. to 12-30 p.m.

"ADMINISTRATION IN TRIBAL AREAS"

President: Sri L. N. Gupta, I.A.S.

Concluding Session

3-00 p.m. to 6-00 p.m.

Chairman: Sri M.P. Pai, I.C.S.,

Chief Secretary to Government of Andhra Pradesh.

1. Report of discussions in Sessions by Presidents.
2. Valedictory address by Prof. Von-Furer-Haimendorf
3. Concluding remarks by the Chairman.
4. Vote of Thanks by Sri B.R.K. Sastry, I.A.S., Director of Social Welfare, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

Session No. I.

"TRIBAL ECONOMY AND WELFARE WORK."

LAND PROBLEMS :

Land is held by tribals mostly on consideration of the customary ownership without any documentary evidence of title like Pattas, etc., in the agency areas. There is also no system of maintenance of land records and levy of land revenue is mostly based on ad-hoc methods like plough, etc. But it does not have reference to the classification of the soils, the irrigation facilities, etc. At the moment the tribal sense of ownership more or less extends only to the cultivation of crops. The Muttadari system has created a system of feudal administration in the tribal areas. The Muttadar was the intermediary assigning land to tribals mostly on the basis of an oral understanding and collecting land revenue from them. So far as lands under Podu Cultivation are concerned, there is no question of even continued occupation because the venue of cultivation was always shifted from one place to another over the period of every three years. Even the occupation of land by the tribals in forest is not generally evidenced by any documents like Pattas. In view of the needs to settle the tribals to methods of fixed plough cultivation, it is absolutely necessary to create title in lands to the tribals by issue of Pattas and by fixing the land revenue to the extent of capacity of the land, irrigation facilities, etc. It is, therefore, necessary to consider what rights should be created for the tribals in the land. What steps should be taken to produce this evidence to title and create the sense of ownership in the tribals and what other steps are necesssry having created the rights in the land what protection is required to safeguard their rights in the land and to ensure a sense of security consistent with their culture.

AGRICULTURE :

The tribals practise primitive agriculture which is mostly at the subsistence level. There is no specialization in this, no proper exploitation of the soil. In other words, the tribal is subject to the limitations of nature. In the wake of community development blocks, certain skills leading to specialization are being imparted. The period is now one of transition from primitive agriculture to improved agriculture adopting modern methods, psychologically, the tribal is a very contented person lacking ambition and primitive agriculture did not create in him an urge for greater production. In the changed conditions, however, as a consequence of improved methods, the tribals have to invest in the land, by way of seed, implements, fertilizers, etc. An incentive to better protection is exclusive ownership of land. The tribals do not have any Pattas, etc., to evidence their land title.

How fast should the tribal be reverted to the settled methods of cultivation ? What assistance should the State afford to the tribal in the transition from the primitive agriculture to settled methods and how the provisions in the community development programmes should be related to answer the needs of the changing pattern of agriculture ? In order to make the transition less dialatory, it would be necessary to consider whether a minimum programme should be drawn up, so as to get quick results and make the transition less difficult from the point of view of the tribals.

FORESTS :

The whole approach to the present day forest administration is to show increasing revenue. From purely the revenue point of view nothing can be said of the approach. But it loses sight of the fact that the tribals have also a right in the forest and in any case they have to subsist on the forest. Do you think that the approach to exploitation of forest wealth requires to be reconsidered or at least modified and a policy accepted and reconciled by both the interests, is formulated ?

What has been the impact of the forest policies and laws regarding afforestation and soil conservation upon the psychology and economy of the tribals inhabiting the forests ? And what are the various legislative measures do you propose to protect the rights of the tribals in land and in regard to the use of forests ?

INDUSTRIES :

It is generally complained that inspite of opening of Production-*cum*-Training Centres and Village Industries Centres, we have been unable to make the tribal a skillful artisan. The question posed is, are we doing enough through our tribal welfare programmes to endow the tribal to take advantage of the opportunity of economic development ?

Do you believe that an entire orientation of training programme under industries should be contemplated irrespective of their traditional arts and crafts which do not yield the tribal any financial returns ?

Do you feel that the skills introduced in the centres are defective ?

The tribals are employed during the construction stages of the industrial units and projects more easily as unskilled labourers. But after the completion of the projects, they are thrown out as they could not be absorbed as skilled labourers due to lack of proper education. It is also found that the few tribals working in the industries are not regular in their work. Having seen and enjoyed the benefits of urban life, they do not like to go back to the traditional occupations. They are forced to pursue undersirable ways of life.

What measures would you suggest to avert this situation ?

Session No. II.

"*TRIBAL EDUCATION AND TRIBAL CULTURAL RESEARCH.*"

A

1. It is generally said that the type of education that is required for the tribals should have a tribal bias. Most of the persons do not believe in water tight compartments of education—education which is meant for a farmer, for a townsman, and somebody else. It is argued that there can be a functional difference in education, for example, agricultural education, industrial education, commercial education, literary education and technical education, etc. But education which is linked up with some caste, with some heredity or with some way of life, is not understandable. In the context of the above, do you think that education to the tribals should have a tribal bias or functional bias ?

2. Whenever the question of education in tribal areas is thought of, it is stressed that the tribals should be taught in their own dialects. But in view of the many tribals, living in the same region, having various dialects, providing of books or giving scripts to all the dialects, is not possible. It is argued that the language in tribals for educational purposes has to be the regional language on account of multi-benefits accruing from it. It is also argued in the context, that unless they are given the tool of the regional language, the tribals cannot acquire necessary skills like other persons.

What language policy would be feasible ?

3. *Problem connected with tribal schools.*—A triple alliance between the teacher, the parent and the pupil is a *sine-qua-non* for achieving any measurable success in the primary education programme. At present none of them are very enthusiastic about education.

Smt. Nagarathnamma Sanjeevareddy giving away the prize for the best display of Tribal life and culture in the Stall of Social Welfare Department at the All India Industrial Exhibition, 1964, Hyderabad. Sri B.R.K. Sastry, I.A.S., Director, Social Welfare is seen receiving the prize.

The Teachers.—The teacher plays a pivotal and strategic role. The schools in Scheduled areas call for something more than mere ability to teach and to teach well. It is only a teacher who can establish rapport with the village mind, who can identify himself with the village life and who can intelligently understand and sympathise with the village situation that can hope to achieve a modicum of success in his professional calling. Teachers in their placement show a positive disinclination to serve in remote villages, even more so in Tribal areas. In most cases the disinclination arises because of the lack of amenities and interests provided by these locations. Family preferences and education of their own children to a great extent determine the attitude of teachers in their aversion to serve in such villages. While missionary zeal and selfless service cannot be expected of every teacher, very few, however, are imbued with these ideals so that appointment of teachers in these Scheduled locations have always posed difficulties in educational administration.

Extraneous incentives like grant of special pay and introduction of short-term re-orientation course have not succeeded to the desired extent.

The Parents.—The parents are not enthusiastic for various reasons. Social education has not made much head way in tribal areas and consequently an average tribal parent has yet to learn the importance of educating his children. The children add to the family income and he is therefore reluctant to send them to school very often the parents cannot afford to provide clothes to their children and are therefore reluctant to send their children—particularly, girls to schools. In many schools, the teachers attend the school very irregularly. The parents are therefore not inclined to send their children to the school.

The Pupil.—Neither is the pupil very enthusiastic. He finds the atmosphere in the school altogether foreign to his environment. He is not accustomed to sitting continuously in the school. Added to this handicap is the medium of instruction which is not his dialect.

Why the tribals are not coming to the higher educational institutions inspite of financial assistance? Should not compulsory education be introduced in the tribal areas?

(B)

Research:

It is generally agreed that systematic investigation and research in the tribal areas and into tribal life will help in the formulation of the welfare programmes.

What are the fields of investigation that are most important for the Administrator, and what is the type of work required?

2. The officials working in the tribal areas come from the urban and rural areas. They find the tribals their customs—social, religious and political, peculiar. So for a better and sympathetic understanding of the tribal life, it is felt that the officers should be oriented to tribal way of life.

Do you have any suggestions for training these people ?

3. At present there are no provisions for the evaluation of the work done by the Tribal Development Blocks.

What should be the role of research in the evaluation of the development programme in the tribal areas ?

Session No. III.

"PANCHAYATI RAJ AND CO-OPERATIVES IN TRIBAL AREAS"

(A)

1. It is agreed that the success of the developmental schemes depends upon how best we can make use of the traditional institutions working in the tribal areas. In the religious and social life of the tribal people, the traditional councils play an important role.

In this context, can we co-ordinate the work of the statutory panchayats and traditional tribal councils ?

2. The literacy among the Tribals of Andhra Pradesh is only 4%. The rules and regulations of the Panchayat Act are not understood by the illeterate tribal people and it will not be possible for him to understand the implications of the complicated rules and regulations of the Act and implement the same without any assistance from an out-sider.

What modifications would you suggest for a better understanding and implementation of the Act ?

(B)

The co-operative movement has not yet been able to free the Adivasis from the clutches of the money-lenders to any appreciable extent. This is because of its certain intrinsic limitations, viz.,

(1) The number of co-operative credit societies in Adviasi areas are very few. The extent of help which they can therefore render to the Adivasis is very limited.

(2) The Societies do not advance loans for consumption purposes and for social functions, viz., marriage, birth or death ceremonies. The indebtedness of the Adivasis is primarily due to such social functions. In the context of their present social obligations, such expenditure in most cases is treated as obligatory. Denying them reasonable consumption loans force the Advasis into the hands of the money-lenders.

(3) The procedure for grant of loan by a co-operative society is tardy and the conditions attached to the loan viz., security, etc., are considered irksome. Same is the case for recovery of loans.

(4) Credit is not afforded on easy terms and is generally guided by the present notions about "credit worthiness" of the applicant.

On the other hand, the money-lender, though charging usurious rates of interest, is ever ready to accommodate the Adivasis. He is prepared to advance him loan when he wants it even on personal security. He gives him loan for all purposes including loans for marriage and other social functions. He is prepared to give him advances. In the matter of recovery, he is prepared to give postponement if need be. An average Adiavsi therefore prefer a private money-lendre to a co-operative society.

In spite of various co-operative societies are formed in the agency area, the co-operative movement has not been able to create the confidence among the tribals to meet his needs and necessities, as they could from the non-governmental agencies like Sowkars. Do you suggest that there should be a complete relaxation of rules and regulations and that co-operatives should function as a Sowkar functions ?

Session No. IV

"ADMINISTRATION IN TRIBAL AREAS"

The tribal communities were able to live a self-contained life of their own within the narrow confines of their geography. But modern science and technology however are making in-roads today into their closed domain. The tribals are exposed to various contacts and being ignorant and illiterate are exposed to exploitation. In order to effectively counteract the undesirable elements who take undue advantage of their ignorance special legislation is required in order to protect their interest in lands, houses or house- site occupied, claimed, rented or possessed by them.

The Social Welfare Officers are vested with special powers in order to deal with cases effectively and on the spot, vesting them with Revenue, Civil and Criminal powers. This position has been changed on account of decentralization of powers since the Officers have now been attached to Zilla Parishads. The tribal areas Regulation Act of 1950 barred the jurisdiction of courts of law or Revenue authorities in any disputes relating to lands, houses or house sites occupied, claimed rented or possessed by any Tribal and vesting in Agent or Assistant Agent the Panchayat of all Civil and Revenue jurisdiction in cases involving the rights of any tribal in any land, house or house-sites and to try any criminal offence in which a Tribal is involved as a party. This system of adminstering the tribal area served as a great check and helped to stabilise the conditions to a great extent to halt the encroachments by various persons. Does this system of administerting the tribal areas is sound and should be continued with any modifications or any other alternative could be offered?

2. The pattern of staffing and budgetary provision in the tribal development block and community development block are almost the same but for an additional grant of Rs. 10 lakhs to the Tribal Development Blocks by the Ministry of Home Affairs. In view of these special conditions in the Tribal areas what pattern of staffing and budgetary provision do you suggest for the Tribal Development Block ?

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